

# Social Questions

## BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.

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## Methodist Federation for Social Action Comes Through General Conference with Colors Flying

DEMOCRITUS \*

Any fears that any of our members may have had that the General Conference would take unfavorable action against the Methodist Federation for Social Action proved to be without foundation.

True, owing to the miserably false and purposely distorted news stories which certain sections of the press had sent to papers particularly in New York City and in the middle South in connection with the Kansas City meeting of the Federation last winter, a good deal of hysteria had been stirred up. On the basis of those newspaper articles several memorials had been sent to the General Conference asking that the MFSA be prohibited the use of the name, *Methodist*. To all such memorials the General Conference, in the light of the facts, voted "non-concurrence." In other words, No.

When these memorials were sent at the opening of the General Conference to the powerful Committee on the State of the Church, for detailed consideration and recommendations to the General Conference, it was early evident that a goodly group of conservative delegates were on hand, "out for blood." But they got nowhere. They were patiently heard, and given every consideration. In one instance, even after a vote adverse to them and favorable to the MFSA had been taken, when one conservative brother expressed himself as feeling that his side had not had an adequate hearing, Chairman Ernest F. Tittle asked permission to reopen the matter in the interests of shutting no one out of a chance to be heard—thus leaning over backward to be fair.

At no time did those advocating progressive and liberal Christianity lower their colors. No apologies for actions taken at Kansas City were made. Indeed there was no reason for such apology. For all that happened at Kansas City was that a group of earnest Christian men and women, ministers, Bishops (five of the latter were present and took part in all that was said and done), business men, manufacturers, and professional men, went quietly about their work of seeking to discover what the application of the teachings and leadership of Christ means in terms of our modern life today. Contrary to the lurid reports in certain newspapers, no "communist songs" were sung. Instead the meeting had provided itself with Methodist Hymnals, and every word that was sung was from the Methodist Hymnal.

Except for the vicious reports of the meeting sent out for the most part by one reporter who has been notable for his activities in behalf of big financial interests (page also the National Association of Manufacturers and the Southern States Industrial Council), no one outside the MFSA would ever have given a second thought to the Kansas City meeting. In reality some of those attending had looked upon it as rather an uneventful meeting. Why was any apology for it needed? If the General Conference had asked apology from anyone it should have been from those somewhat hysterical groups here and there across the country who had been so gullible as to take the press reports at face value and proceeded to stir up dissension toward a body of earnest Methodist Christians going quietly about their business, seeking ways of expressing their deepest religious convictions.

At one point regret must be expressed in connection with the handling of MFSA matters in the General Conference. A subcommittee of the Committee on the State of the Church had brought in a ringing report of endorsement of the MFSA. But when, because of the impending general railway strike, it became necessary for the delegates to the General Conference to adjourn within the ensuing six days in order to reach home before the strike became effective, it seemed imperative that every item likely to cause extended debate should be withdrawn. As a compromise measure, therefore, the following endorsement already voted in subcommittee was withdrawn and did not come to the floor of the General Conference:

"In the field of social action the Methodist Federation for Social Action (unofficial) has furnished vigorous Christian leadership for four decades. While the Federation does not now speak, and never has claimed to speak, authoritatively for the Church, and while it does not now seek to commit, and cannot commit, the church in any degree, it has consistently sought to stimulate the Church to implement the teachings of Jesus in human relationships on the basis of principles identical with those presented in the following portion of the 1948 Episcopal Address: 'The Church must come to grips with reality. It dare not be the priest of perfectionism, refusing to soil its hands in ministry to the common life. Nor dare it be the preacher of an expediency that refuses to judge all practices by the absolutes of our faith. The Church has the duty of judging concrete proposals by the absolutes of our faith. The Church

\* "Democritus" is the pseudonym of a well-known Methodist leader.

never pledges itself in perpetuity to less than the ideal; but it may well give support to measures that presently are less than the ideal; providing they are all that we can achieve in common agreement and evidence advance toward the ideal. Just as certainly the church must oppose unalterably those measures that upon evidence indicate that we are moving away from the ideal."

One or two additional items should be mentioned. First, the fine spirit of those conservative brethren in the General Conference, particularly in the Committee on the State of the Church, who though repeatedly outvoted on the social issues, including the Peace report, yet played fair and for the most part were uniformly courteous. The discussions on both sides were frank and energetic, but in good spirit as within the Christian family.

The second item to which we are particularly happy to call attention is the fine treatment given the General Conference in news coverage by the Boston newspapers. No General Conference within our recollection has received quite so generous news space nor quite so uniformly accurate, sympathetic and fair treatment in both editorial and news columns as was given by the newspapers of Boston.

#### A Look Ahead

A quadrennium is now behind us. During that quadrennium the Methodist Federation for Social Action has taken on new life. Upwards of 5,000 new members have joined, and the Federation has friends among the outstanding leadership of the church, lay and clerical, and in both great city churches and small rural parishes.

The new quadrennium that lies ahead of us therefore presents a significant opportunity for this free body of Methodists to put forward the interests of the social gospel under the leadership of our common Lord. In this interest we must be not merely negatively critical, pointing out what is wrong in our social living together, nationally and internationally, but still more strongly, positive and constructive in our labors. We must refuse to yield to bitterness and hate, recognizing freely the right of others to differ from us. There must be no question of the quality of our Christianity, our gospel of love and service, even while we face realistically the forces arranged against us. Our only "ism" must continue to be the Christian faith that is in us.

That we shall continue to be opposed by entrenched privilege and by well intended fundamentalism, there can be no doubt. The Master faced the same forces, until they drove Him to His death on a cross. There is no evident way of avoiding such criticism and opposition short of betrayal of our trust.

Epithets will continue to be hurled at those of us who advocate the application of the spirit and teachings of Jesus to all our political, industrial and social institutions. Even at General Conference in the Committee on the State of the Church one brother said he had nowhere met so many Communists and "Fellow-travelers" as in that committee. That of course was arrant nonsense as there was doubtless not a Communist nor a "fellow-traveler" in that entire General Conference committee. But the poor brother felt so, and the incident shows the extent to which the imagination will lead one when he cuts loose from ethical Christianity and depends upon traditional and fundamentalistic forms of inherited religion.

#### FOR A RURAL LIFE FESTIVAL

The Department of Town and Country Work, Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y., publishes a circular entitled, "An Order for a Rural Life Festival." The subtitle reads: "Uniting Churches and Other Organizations of Rural Life in Appreciation of the Christian Rural Life Philosophy." It is a complete order of service that may be used by a congregation or other gathering. There is also a bibliography. Single copies are 1¢ each.

## The Maintenance of a Free Pulpit

COMMITTEE ON MINISTRY

A prophetic ministry can come only from a free pulpit. Recognizing the severe tensions today that often create an intolerant spirit and restrictive procedures be it resolved that we affirm our belief in the necessity of maintaining freedom for the Methodist pulpit. We deprecate the tendency to label our ministers as "hopeless conservatives" on the one hand, or "dangerous radicals" on the other hand, when they honestly proclaim their interpretation of the truth in a given situation. Our ministers must be kept free to call to judgment those who are guilty of either personal or social sins. We would, with emphasis, reaffirm this statement from the Episcopal address, "We are determined that free preachers, occupying a free pulpit, preaching to free laymen in a free land shall proclaim the freeing truth of the religion of Jesus. Methodism is determined not to allow the intimidation of its clergy. We call upon our laymen, whose freedom is equally involved, to join our preachers in maintaining this freedom in the presence of social systems that deny it, so that our people may progress steadily and surely, and above all, peacefully toward a society worthy of the terms, "the Kingdom of God."

Adopted General Conference (1948)

## Education for Preventing Prejudices

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The committee considered a memorial on education for preventing prejudices submitted by the New York City Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. After amendment the committee voted to concur and to recommend reference to other committees concerned with this subject. The memorial approved by the committee is as follows:

We urge that the General Conference request every appropriate agency of the Methodist Church to approve and promote education effective in preventing racial, religious, and related prejudices.

Such education involves the ability to recognize, analyze, and evaluate the propagandas which carry these prejudices and whip them into mass hysterias. It is through education of this type that the racial and religious hatreds which weaken our nation can be abolished, and that the propagandas which might otherwise hasten the peoples of the world into World War III can be recognized for what they are and their effectiveness avoided.

Adopted General Conference (1948)

In the Stork Club recently Phil Baker told the story of two men walking slowly up a street. The first one asked: "Joe, I need help. Will you lend me some money?" Joe said: "Sorry, but I'm broke." His friend, still walking beside him, continued: "Joe, I'm hungry. Will you get me some food?" Joe told him: "I told you I'm broke. And I've got no food."

"Can't you even lend me a dollar, a quarter, a dime—anything, Joe?" asked the man. "I can't," Joe repeated. "Not a dollar, not a quarter, not a dime, not even a penny." They continued walking, pensively, and then the man stopped. "Joe," he said, "carry me?"

Leonard Lyons

# Resolution Adopted by the General Conference, 1948

## The Church and War and Peace

COMMITTEE ON STATE OF THE CHURCH

### I. The Church and War

"We stand for these propositions: Christianity cannot be nationalistic; it must be universal in its outlook and appeal. War makes its appeal to force and hate, Christianity to reason and love. The influence of the Church must therefore always be on the side of every effort seeking to remove animosities and prejudices which are contrary to the spirit and teaching of Christ. It does not satisfy the Christian conscience to be told that war is inevitable. It staggers the imagination to contemplate another war with its unspeakable horrors in which modern science will make possible the destruction of whole populations. The methods of Jesus and the methods of war belong to different worlds. War is a crude and primitive force. It arouses passions which in the beginning may be unselfish and generous, but in the end war betrays those who trust in it. It offers no security that the decisions will be just and righteous. It leaves arrogance in the heart of the victor and resentment in the heart of the vanquished. When the teachings of Jesus are fully accepted, war as a means of settling international disputes will die, and dying will set the world free from a cruel tyrant" (from Par. 2010, Sec. 15, the *Discipline*).

Since 1944 the truth of these statements has become tragically apparent. Though overt hostilities have ceased, peace has not come. Nationalism has increased. Vindictiveness and resentment dominate the international scene and retard the making of peace treaties. Fear and want abound. Rivalry and suspicion among victor nations, misery and despair among millions of the defeated, cloud the future. If there is to be any peace on earth, it can come only through that good will toward men which lies at the heart of the Christian faith.

Because war is contrary to every tenet of love and reason for which Christianity stands, the Church must continue to declare its sinfulness and say with the Oxford Conference on Life and Work, "War is a defiance of the righteousness of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and Him Crucified. It involves compulsory enmity, diabolical outrage of human personality and a wanton distortion of the truth." Moreover, recently developed forms of warfare make it necessary to add another note to this condemnation, for war as we now know it may destroy all civilized human life upon this planet. It can decisively put an end to the exercise upon Earth of those curative and creative forces which Christianity holds in its keeping. The church must use its spiritual power to destroy war, or war will destroy the Church and humanity. More clearly than before, we now see that our only earthly security is in obedience to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who has "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the Earth."

Since Christianity and war are utterly opposed, the Church as the body of Christ, the carrier of the Gospel, the institution that bears Christ's name, must not become the agent of any government for its furtherance. The task of the Church is healing, reconciliation, the removal of prejudice and hate, the cementing of bonds of brotherhood, the exalting of God as the Father and Ruler of all mankind and Christ as the Savior of all. This task it cannot perform if it becomes a partisan in international conflict and destruction. "Christianity cannot be nationalistic; it must be universal in its outlook and appeal."

Regarding the duty of the individual Christian, opinions sincerely differ. Faced by the dilemma of participation in war, he must decide prayerfully before God, what is to be

his course of action in relation thereto. What the Christian citizen may not do, is to obey men rather than God, or overlook the degree of compromise in our best acts, or gloss over the sinfulness of war. The Church must hold within its fellowship persons who sincerely differ at this point of critical decision, call all to repentance, mediate to all God's mercy, minister to all in Christ's name.

### II. The Church and Peace

#### A. Moral and Spiritual Conditions

The primary conditions of peace lie in the attitudes of men. Since the Church in a unique way holds in its keeping the moral and spiritual forces needed for a peaceful world, the Church has a unique and God-given responsibility.

Among the unholy aspects and fertile causes of war are the claims of each state to absolute national sovereignty; the cancelling of distinctions of right and wrong—as more and more barbarous forms of cruelty are held to be legitimate; self-righteousness; the treating of persons as things; the narrowing of the bounds of compassion and justice; the condoning of human bondage; economic self-interest; the distortion of the truth by propaganda and deliberate falsehood; reliance on military force as the sole arbiter in conflict and instrument for the restraint of evil.

To each of these factors the Christian gospel has a decisive word to speak. No earthly state, but God alone, is ruler of the universe. To His righteous law nations, as well as individuals are subject, and no claims of military necessity can make what is evil good. By Him all men are judged and called to repentance. All persons were made in the image of God and however sinful are infinitely precious in His sight. All men are children of God and brothers one of another; before Him no distinctions of nations, race, class, culture or political alignment can stand. God wills all men to be free to work out their destinies in a just society and conditions favorable to the abundant life, and to share in the resources of the Earth as He has provided for all. God condemns untruth and every violation of the integrity to which we are called in Christ. God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. To us, He committed—not implements of destruction for the arrest of evil—but the word of reconciliation.

As the Church preaches, promotes, practices these affirmative Christian notes, it can be an agency of profound and far-reaching significance in laying the foundations of peace. Particular attention is called to the great work already done in promoting world fellowship and understanding through the missionary movement and the ecumenical church. That the bonds of brotherhood among Christians to an encouraging degree held firm during the recent war is occasion for humble thanksgiving to God. From the beginnings already made a world community must be fashioned in which occasions of war will give way before the righteous rule of the Lord of all the Earth.

#### B. Relief of Suffering

Among the primary tasks of the Church is the duty to relieve human misery. When millions of our brothers for whom Christ died are hungry, cold, and homeless and children die of starvation, no Christian can turn a deaf ear to the voice of Him who says, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me." The command of Christ and political realism unite in making this ministry an essential condition of peace, for war walks on the heels of hunger.

Such relief should be given through various channels. We rejoice that governments, churches, and individuals have made generous contributions for this period. Much more must be done. Since no private giving can be adequate in amount, there must be a large-scale government appropriation on a non-partisan basis, given for the welfare of the recipients. The gifts of Methodists both through Church World Service and the Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief should be greatly increased. There is a place for personalized giving to individuals known to be worthy and in need, for through such personal connections ties of fellowship are cemented.

#### C. International Organization

We rejoice that the past quadrennium has seen the formation of the United Nations organization. Notwithstanding imperfections, it provides techniques for the peaceful settlement of disputes if the necessary moral and spiritual conditions can be met. While public attention has been greatly centered on the failures of the Security Council to reach agreement because of the veto, it should be noted that the General Assembly provides a valuable sounding board for the moral judgment of the world and that various agencies of the United Nations organization are functioning constructively. Among these are the Commission on Human Rights (which the churches had a large part in bringing into being), the Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Health Organization, and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. When peace treaties have been made the United Nations can function more freely. It should be strengthened by a larger financial support and greater use made of it in the economic field. We commend to the churches wider study of the structure of the United Nations organization, confidence in its potential usefulness, and the undergirding of its delegates with prayer and moral support in their efforts to create a functioning international organization for peace and justice.

Believing that permanent peace requires the taking of steps toward a federated form of world government, we look beyond the United Nations organization to the development of world government through a more effective use of the machinery now available. A world of absolute national sovereignties competing with one another leads inevitably to tension and conflict.

#### D. Soviet and U. S. Relations

Peace in the immediate future depends primarily on the establishment of better relationships between the Soviet Union and the United States. Whether the tensions and issues which divide these two powers can be resolved by orderly processes is one of the supreme challenges of our time.

Christian men and women especially have an inescapable responsibility to resist a mood of despair, blind hatred, hysteria and hopelessness. They should seek to develop mutual understanding in which differences with Russia can be reconciled.

The Christian Church should not remain complacent in the present world situation in which there are powerful world forces which, left unchecked, could lead us toward untold misery and tragedy. Our worst menace is a spirit of hopelessness that any course of action other than war is impossible. Christian people should reject a spirit of fatalism about war. We affirm our convictions that war between the Soviet Union and the United States is not inevitable.

The Christian Church has a divine obligation to witness with prophetic vigor to God's righteous love for all mankind and to support positive steps which give evidence of the reality of the Christian world fellowship. We therefore believe that the Church should support governmental policy which would not primarily depend upon armed force but would constructively promote economic recovery, improved conditions of social welfare and democratic respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

It is our conviction that neither the peoples of the Soviet Union nor of the United States desire war. We call upon all of our peoples promptly to undertake to change the prevailing mood which we believe conducive to war. We reaffirm the statement adopted by the Federal Council of Churches on April 26, 1948, in which it said: "Some have come to look upon a 'preventive war' as an acceptable means of settling the present international conflict. Such a state of mind we unqualifiedly condemn. The last war ended with the dropping of two bombs which alone killed over 100,000 persons and shattered the lives of many more. New war would plunge the world into utter misery. Whatever the military result, it would be an intensification of the misery which makes men willing to exchange freedom for dictatorship."

We urge our respective governments to support a continuing process of negotiations on diplomatic, high levels.

#### E. Reduction and Control of Armaments

We recognize the need of national defense. When nations rely primarily on military force, both the spiritual and economic foundations of peace are undermined. Fear and suspicion increase the danger of hostilities; the diversion of wealth to this channel draws it from the constructive pursuits of peace. The militarization of the public mind reduces the possibility of the free interplay of ideas. We emphasize the following statement from the Episcopal Address:

"Religious leaders and men charged with political responsibility must face a fundamental fact. Ideas cannot be destroyed by military force. It is possible to destroy the cities of an enemy, to bring his armed forces to surrender, in a word, to defeat him as far as the physical power to resist is concerned. But an ideology cannot be suffocated by poison gas nor demolished by atomic bombs. Ideas are conquered by better ideas whose truth has been revealed in practices that enrich personality."

The charter of the United Nations opens the way to halting the armament race. On December 16, 1946, the General Assembly passed a resolution which includes principles and general procedures for the control and reduction of armaments. We regret that more has not been done to implement this action. We call upon our government to take the lead in making this action effective.

Seven church-wide organizations of the Methodist Church, led by the Council of Bishops, have declared their opposition to any system of peacetime universal military training. We reaffirm this stand. We appeal to the United States to give bold leadership toward the universal abolition of peacetime conscription through or by the United Nations.

#### F. Dependent and Minority Peoples

According to the Christian faith all persons, however economically or culturally underprivileged, wherever located are of supreme and equal worth in the sight of God. We protest, therefore, against all forms of domination of subject peoples for the advantage of those more favorably situated. No nation should embark upon a policy of colonial expansion or the extension of imperialistic "spheres of influence." We affirm our conviction that the territories seized in the recent war should be administered primarily in the interest of the persons who inhabit them. We rejoice in notable advances toward freedom and self-government among lands formerly held as colonial possessions.

The same principles of equality of opportunity hold regarding minority groups residing within a nation. Every group regardless of race, religion or economic status should have freedom of worship, of political and cultural expression, and of economic advancement. Both the principles of democracy and the Christian valuation of personality require that this autonomy be maintained. It is the duty of the church to give prophetic witness in word and action until existing limitations such as restrictions in voting, education, employment, housing, and use of public facilities are removed.

(Continued on page 90)

## methodism is still progressive

No one could attend the recent General Conference of the Methodist Church in Boston without realizing that ours is a great church, and that it is still a progressive church. Those of us who are left of center and who were beginning to have some misgivings on this score were reassured in no uncertain manner by what happened in Boston, not only as far as the Federation was concerned but by the general tenor of the entire gathering. The General Conference faced facts. It refused to be swayed by partisanship. It was utterly fair to everybody. And it moved ahead. The enactments whereby conferences in the Northeastern Jurisdiction were permitted to begin work among Negroes and authorization was given for the appointment of Chaplains to Organized Labor advanced the whole church along a path which the MFSA has pioneered. The provision inserted in the legislation on Methodist Information by Dr. Lloyd Worley of the New York East Conference whereby that organization is mandated by the church to make forceful reply, in the name of the whole church, to inaccurate and libelous statements about Methodist ministers, was a direct rebuke to the Scripps-Howard press and its Mr. Frederick Woltman.

That the General Conference turned out to be so progressive was something of a surprise, because it apparently hadn't been planned that way. The speakers at the evening sessions, insofar as they were concerned with world affairs, represented only one point of view. John Foster Dulles, Chiang Kai Shek, and Rep. Walter Judd are all in what is known as the let's-get-tougher-with-Russia camp; Dulles and Judd, both Republicans, are artisans of the so-called bipartisan foreign policy which is advancing the country along the road to war with seven league boots. There is a strange dichotomy in the actions of some of our Methodist leadership which supports Dulles and Judd but, if their speeches are any indication, differ with those two eminent Republicans on almost every point. The General Conference generously applauded all the speakers and then, in essence, warned the whole church to be on guard against the things the speakers were advocating. One friend, after hearing Dulles, Chiang, and Judd, wondered why Franco's voice had not been piped into Mechanics Hall and then opined that probably transmission difficulties prevented. This criticism we consider just a bit carping.

The Boston press leaped joyfully on Dr. Ralph Diffendorfer's plan to train 200 missionary couples to combat communism and send them behind the Iron Curtain. The papers distorted Dr. Diffendorfer's meaning, but as one read the headlines one could almost see the doughty young missionary and his wife, just out of Garrett or B.U., being parachuted at midnight onto the steppes of Siberia and setting up the clandestine radio equipment by means of which they would maintain contact with 740 Rush St., Chicago, or 150 Fifth Ave., New York. Actually, the proposal was naive, for as far as Protestant missionaries are concerned there is no "Iron Curtain." As Bishop Paul Garber and the Mission Board itself have repeatedly pointed out, the old barriers to Protestant mission work in countries like Poland, Roumania, Albania, and Bulgaria have been removed and there is greater freedom for our work now in those countries than ever before in history.

But these are minor things. The important thing is that the General Conference not only refused to be stampeded into the general war hysteria now prevailing in this country but actually, in the splendid Episcopal address and the recommendations of its committees and commissions moved ahead towards peace, economic justice, and racial equality. In short, towards the Kingdom of God.

We're pretty happy about the whole thing. The Methodist Church still belongs to the people called Methodists.

## General Notes on the General Conference

Students at Garrett Biblical Institute took a pre-conference poll on the issues to be discussed. Four out of five were ready to pool money for ministerial salaries in a central treasury so that a basic salary, with differentials for education, family, and other differences could be established. The vote in favor of the admission of women to annual conferences was three to one. Eighty-five per cent favored the creation of a commission to study the question of the abolition of the central jurisdiction. Seventy-three per cent of the students approved uniting with the Evangelical-United Brethren and 70 per cent with the Presbyterians. Eighty-two per cent hoped the General Conference would oppose UMT.

A wide variety of occupations was represented among the 377 official lay delegates who, with a similar number of ministerial delegates, attended the quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Church in session in Mechanics Hall, April 28-May 9.

Occupational skills of delegates range all the way from ranchers to candy manufacturers and from salesmen to evangelistic singers, with 116 businessmen leading the list by a wide margin. Educators are in second place with 60 listed in that field, 11 of whom are college presidents. Homemakers run a close third with 57 who give that as their chief duty.

A further breakdown of professions reveals that there are 40 lawyers, 11 bankers, 10 church lay workers, nine professional women and seven journalists. There are five each in the following fields: farmers, morticians, government officials, judges, physicians, and postal employees. There are four manufacturers and four missionaries, three dentists and a similar number of accountants and skilled laborers, and two general contractors.

The roster also lists, among other callings, director of state finances, cashier, chemist, farm bureau president, rancher, candy manufacturer, scientist, Secretary of State, court stenographer, and penitentiary warden.

## Social Questions BULLETIN

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*The METHODIST FEDERATION  
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# Reflections on the Conclusion of the General Conference

JACK R. McMICHAEL, *Executive Secretary*

General Conference has concluded its sessions in Boston. Friends of the Methodist Federation for Social Action and of its program have every reason to rejoice in the result.

1. The Methodist Federation for Social Action remains unofficial, free, independent, uncurbed. All pre-Conference expressions of fear (or hope!) that the General Conference would take some adverse action with reference to the Federation, proved unfounded. It is true that a few misinformed and fearful Methodists had sent in memorials condemning the Federation and seeking to limit it in some way: denying it the use of the word "*Methodist*" (which had been part of its title for over forty years), denying it the privilege of renting office space in the Methodist Building, giving "advice" to Methodist bishops and other officials as to what organizations they should or should not join. Most of us have been sure that neither the General Conference, nor any other group of representative Methodists, would ever accept or implement such amazing proposals. Our expectation was fully justified. Except in the form of non-concurrence, these memorials never got out of the representative Committee on the State of the Church, where they were thoroughly discussed and therefore overwhelmingly and decisively rejected. There was no minority report against the Federation. Nor, on the floor of the General Conference, was there even one individual attack upon the Federation or upon its program or record. This is true despite a tremendous, costly, and virtually unprecedented attempt of a powerful press chain, with relatively unlimited financial resources, to destroy the Methodist Federation for Social Action and directly to hysterize the General Conference delegates into taking action in that direction. Reference is made to the front page articles, screaming scare headlines, and inflammatory editorials in all the papers of this press chain last December and January; to the expensively produced propaganda pamphlet (twenty-four pages) sent to all General Conference delegates and repeating the misrepresentations, lamely and ineffectively seeking to answer the wide criticism of those misrepresentations among Methodists everywhere, and going "all out" in a malicious smear attack upon certain individuals who are members of the Federation, as well as others who are not members; direct collaboration with certain misguided laymen in the effort to whip up hysteria and anti-Federation memorials. These unprecedented efforts of a wealthy newspaper chain to dictate church policy and to crush or discredit a Protestant social action group with four decades of prophetic service to its credit, came to nought—literally and unqualifiedly, nought. This is true despite the costliness and prodigiousness of the efforts involved. Similar outside efforts to destroy the Federation have failed in the past. The Methodist Federation for Social Action has long since proven its survival value. It is the oldest spearhead group of its kind in Methodism, and indeed in all Protestantism. It is larger and stronger now than at any time in its history, and its recently elected officers are a cause for justifiable gratitude and pride. As Bishop Ledden has so well put it, "The greatest days of service for the Methodist Federation for Social Action are yet ahead." Let it be made clear that reference to the press above was not to our secular press in general, but only to one particular and limited segment of it. Our readers are already familiar with the voluntary correction made by *The New York Times*, for example, when it learned that it had been completely in error. In their reporting of the Federation question at General Conference, the Boston newspapers were all of them fair and just, though not, of course, accurate in every single detail. In its effort to influence the thinking and action (and emoting) of Methodists, one particular press chain has violated its own canons of journalism, and lost the respect

of many. Their mistaken efforts have come to nothing. Let us hope they will have learned their lesson and seek in the future at least to be as fair and objective as most other newspapers.

2. One of our Federation leaders, with press misrepresentation of our Kansas City meeting in mind, introduced on the floor of the General Conference an amendment to a report. The amendment instructed our enlarged and more adequately financed Methodist Information Service to accept and exercise the responsibility of correcting all such press misrepresentation of Methodists in the future. The amendment was *unanimously passed*, the more impressive in view of the general difficulty faced by any amendments to committee reports when they are introduced on and from the floor.

3. In harmony with a splendid section of the Episcopal Address dealing with the "Freedom of the Methodist Pulpit," a resolution was introduced at General Conference, and *unanimously passed*, on "The Maintenance of a Free Pulpit." It is printed in full elsewhere in this issue. It certainly takes hold at the right point of the great Protestant and democratic issue raised by the attacks made upon the Federation and its members and leaders.

4. Further evidence of the positive contribution of the Federation to the General Conference, and of the complete failure of efforts to whip up anti-Federation hysteria, is found in the fact that a resolution was introduced to the General Conference by the Committee on Education as coming from the New York City chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Action (a rather unusual procedure, since memorials or resolutions are usually identified not by source, but merely by number). The resolution dealt constructively with propaganda analysis, and antidote to mass hysterias, and with education by and throughout Methodism to prevent racial, religious, and related prejudices. Full text of the resolution appears elsewhere in this issue. It was *unanimously adopted*.

5. At Kansas City Bishop Robert N. Brooks was elected president of the Federation. He was elected clearly and solely because of his eminent qualifications for that position of leadership, but he was elected in violation of "an old custom" against having a Negro "president," in our church organizations. At Boston the General Conference, in the same spirit, took steps to assure more just and adequate representation of Negro Methodists in the leadership of our Church. Two Negro bishops presided at sessions of the General Conference in Boston. A Negro was elected for the first time to the Judicial Council. The first Negro missionaries ever to be sent by our Church to China were introduced to the General Conference and received tremendous applause. An amendment was adopted requiring that the Commission on the Chaplaincy include in its membership representation from the Central (Negro) Jurisdiction, etc.

6. This General Conference took action to alter official Methodist policy in the field of peace and race relations—in both cases, taking significant steps in the direction of the peace and race relations program of the Methodist Federation for Social Action as adopted at Kansas City. Perhaps this will throw some light on the question raised by some as to whether the positions taken by Methodists in good standing were, or were not, in harmony with the best and most representative Methodist thinking. The significant basic peace and race resolutions adopted by overwhelming votes at the General Conference, are printed in full elsewhere in this issue. They will be great weapons on behalf of the historic and present goals and program of the Federation. There is nothing in either resolution to which a supporter of Federation program can take exception. In both cases

the church has moved forward by great strides. In the case of the peace resolution, there is involved a clear reversal of the 1944 position and a decisive repudiation of any effort to get the church to bless war, or to join in any summons to a "holy war" against Russia or communism. The peace resolution adopted at General Conference is a great and Christian document. One does not, and cannot, find in it any slightest element of that national self-righteousness or Pharisaism which unfortunately has crept into some other church documents on this question, and which represents a threat to the prophetic religious and moral qualities of nations today, including our own. The transcendent loyalty affirmed without qualification in this great document is loyalty to the Kingdom of God. Those of us who work for peace and against the catastrophe of atomic war do so with the decisive moral backing of our church. Those who have tried to contribute to an emotional and psychological readiness for "holy war" can find no comfort at all in the present position of the Methodist Church on this question.

Again, in the resolution on race, our church has moved very significantly in the direction of the program and basic principles of MFSA. The resolution on "Economic Justice" included in the basic peace resolution, is also in full harmony with historic Federation emphasis. The same can be said with reference to the specific resolutions adopted in the social field in such questions as the separation of church and state, representation at the Vatican, removal of racial barriers to immigration, action on behalf of displaced persons, etc.

This is not to say there was lacking any compromise in the resolutions in the social action field, or that spokesmen for the Federation viewpoint made no concessions. There was compromise, and there were concessions. But the compromise was on a high Christian level, and the concessions were at the point of agreeing not to insist on the inclusion of certain desired items. All of which but accents the importance of a free and unofficial fellowship such as the Federation which can serve as a channel for those of us who want to be more specific, and to go further on specific points, than the Church as a whole apparently is yet ready to go. For example, there was, in the peace report, omission of specific reference to the draft or selective service, which at this time, seems to be more in danger of passing Congress than Universal Military Training, to which specific reference was made. Or again, in the resolution on race, there was studious avoidance of explicit reference to segregation, though the implication is there, and attempts to so amend the report to give support to segregation were decisively rejected. (Incidentally, at this point, some action was taken at the General Conference effecting slight changes in jurisdictional boundaries resulting from Methodist racial segregation.)

It is for members and chapters of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, who thoroughly believe in the great forward steps taken by the General Conference to see that they do not simply go into our Discipline as historic records, but that they are implemented and undergirded, and worked on, by and at the grass roots. It is this really, in the last analysis, which will make the decisive difference. We in the Federation must back up our Church in the social action field, and must help to implement and apply its significant principles and program. This is the task now before us in the great and challenging quadrennium ahead. As one important contribution to that end, we must continue to build the membership, the chapters, and the grass roots chapter effectiveness, of MFSA. In the last quadrennium we quadrupled our membership—and effected an even greater increase in the number and activity of our autonomous chapters. We must match and surpass that record in the quadrennium ahead. We have never had stronger or more solid leadership. God has given us potentialities greater than we had dreamed. Our fellowship will be rich as we join in giving ourselves to their fulfillment.

## Federation Activities and Reports

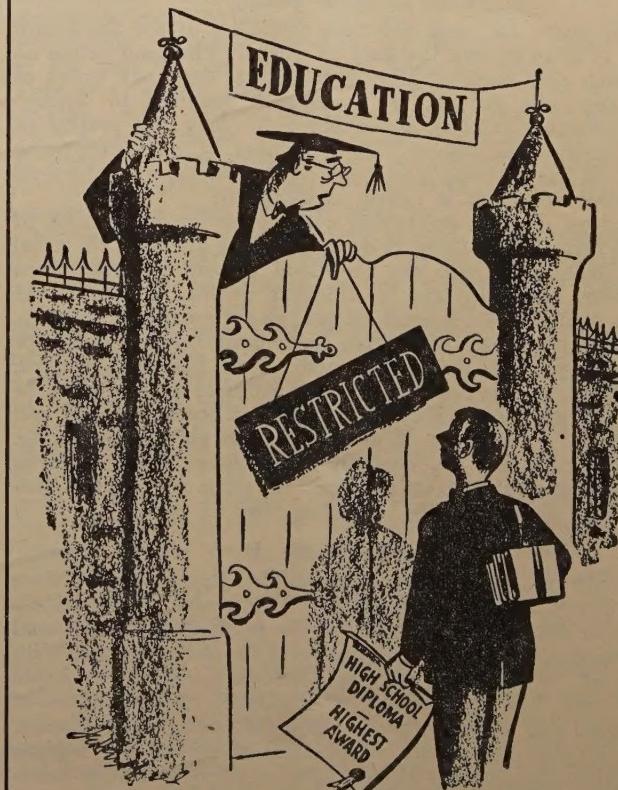
The Federation Chapter at **OHIO UNIVERSITY** is one of our newest groups, small but active. At each weekly meeting the members send out a batch of postcards to their representatives in Washington.

The **ERIE CONFERENCE CHAPTER** held its spring meeting in April in Erie, Pennsylvania. Rev. Carl D. Soule of the World Peace Commission spoke on "Christianity and Communism" in the morning session and on "The Peace Consciousness and Program of the Methodist Church" in the afternoon. The Rev. Jack McMichael reported on "High Lights of the Kansas City Conference."

The **NEW YORK CITY CHAPTER** met on April 13 to hear a report on the "Background and Meaning of the Italian Elections," by Dr. Charles Fama, an Italian-born convert to Protestantism, one of our leading authorities on the subject. The May meeting of the Chapter was a report on the General Conference by the MFSA's Executive Secretary. The New York City Chapter recently held a very successful 40th ANNIVERSARY CONCERT for the benefit of the Federation, and has turned over to the treasury \$75 to help meet the deficit.

The **DELAWARE CONFERENCE CHAPTER** met during April at Annual Conference for the election of officers and revitalization of the chapter. Rev. Charles E. Carrington was elected president. Many new members joined.

### Things That Should Never Happen!



"You'll have to wait, son, till we  
check on your race and religion!"

*Institute for American Democracy, Inc.*

# Rural Social Action

## Agricultural Ladder Is Broken

The rungs have been knocked out of the agricultural ladder.

The fairy tale concerning it is still told; but it should be recognized as fantasy, not fact. As with the doltish, youngest son of folk story, the implication is that the goose producing golden eggs will reward simple virtue and diligent application. All the young man has to do to obtain his own farm and become a respected "elder" of the community is to work hard and climb up the ladder—hired help, tenant, and owner. That's all there is to it.

But 'taint so.

Rural life is becoming increasingly stratified. As in industrial life and some of the more economically desirable professions, stratification has set in. It takes an executive family to make a place for executive sons. The foreman is finding it ever more difficult to make the jump to a managerial position. And to become a farm owner, it is increasingly evident that one should possess an owner father.

The story has it that the way to become an owner-operator is to climb up the "agricultural ladder." First the young man hires himself out to some solid farmer. He works hard, and saves all he earns. Then he invests his savings in some machinery and stock, and perhaps hunts up a wife, and gets started as a tenant. Through his own diligence, and the work of his children and spouse, he acquires enough to make a deal for his own farm. On the land he settles, and by hard work pays off the mortgage before he dies.

Even this picture leaves something to be desired. But the present relation it bears to reality put the tale near the category of Tom Thumb or Little Orphan Annie.

## Class in Rural Society

The better the land, the more difficult it is for the tenant ever to hope to own the land he works. The land prices on the rich corn lands of Illinois and Iowa, the muck farms of the vegetable grower, the investment required to develop a producing orchard, all combine to deny the reality of the agricultural ladder. As a symbol of an enterprising hope, it has a strong pull upon our emotions. On the level of achievement, it is nearly meaningless.

Instead of free enterprise working in the acquisition of good farm lands, there is developing a rigid area of social stratification. There are the farm owners and the farm workers, and they live in different worlds. There is the large farmer and the small farmer, and a great gulf between, as the support and opposition to Senator Downey's attempt to do away with the "family size" farm has demonstrated. Increasingly significant is the agricultural proletariat—the migrant workers, denied the benefits of social security and with only a minimum of unionization to aid in bargaining. It is not so easy to jump from one class to the other as Americans would like to imagine. In some regions the class structure flirts with the hardening lines of caste.

## Protectors of the Myth

As always, when a myth loses conviction, those that believe in it hurry the more vociferously to the rescue. The symbols of rural democracy, embodied in the myth of the ideal small community, become the rallying point for the orthodox. With cries of "seed-bed of society," "self-reliance," "the simple life," and "the holy earth," we construct the definitions of the good life *a la* Heitor St. John Crevecoeur and Horace, with a spicy dash of Bromfield sense of humus and a pious appeal to the prophet Micah. The ritualists get busy burning incense at the altar of Borsodi or Hugh Bennett (according to whether they want to fly from the city or indulge in good works while still free to clip coupons). The free church members of the faith subscribe to *The Homesteader*, dream about one foot on the land, promote community good works, and wonder why on earth the decentralists (of the

priesthood, at least) sing the praises of an individual, such as Upton Close.

In the meantime the Pews (Sun Oil, that is) publish the *Farm Journal*, which with nearly a three million subscription list must be able to persuade a lot of people that the ax of monopoly capital is exactly what is needed to whittle out the shape of a good tomorrow for agricultural people. The publishers recently got so excited about the lack of anti-Communist enthusiasm in the Farmers' Union, that A. F. Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, was prompted to write a letter to the *Farm Journal*, asking its editors why they had become so convinced that it is now subversive to stick to a "reaffirmation of belief in the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence."

## The Symbols and the Community

The symbols of rural democracy have a tremendous, and valid, emotional content for citizens of this land. The *Farm Journal* continues in existence because of a wondrously cheap subscription price and its delight in the use of the symbols. It is always for virtue and against the devil. So are we all. Where we disagree is at the level of making the symbols walk amongst us.

The concern of predatory lumber men in the Sitka spruce of the Olympic National Park is all, as they hasten to assure us, in the interest of the people, especially the veteran. It's for the common good that they cut it off. The cattlemen's associations want the grasslands of the public domain taken from federal control solely to keep swivel chair bureaucrats off the tax rolls. They never even mention bargain rates in grazing. The agricultural worker must not be given social security, implies the Farm Bureau, for what would happen to his enterprise and independence if he thought he would get a pension just for breaking his back by falling from an apple tree?

After all, however, "seed-bed of society," "self-reliance," and "the holy earth" do have a real meaning. Other than the faddists and cultists of the "return to rural life" movement, there are serious social scientists, sincere persons of good will and common sense who are seeking honestly to establish the conditions of the good life.

The good life they conceive to be one in which there is mutuality and togetherness. They want the public symbols to grasp working principles in the establishment of community.

It is their conviction that the double-talk of the predatory and exploiting is better put to shame in action than by counter-accusations. They seek to make the good life with one foot on the soil a reality in the democratic process. They buck the caste system which the commercialization of farming has encouraged. They do not seek to turn the clock back to yesterday, but they ask that we consider some of the normal patterns of family and vocation and establish them before the meaninglessness of industrial civilization destroys even man himself.

R. O.

## MOVIE OF THE MONTH

*Paisan*. Italian picture, produced by Mayer-Burstyn, directed by Roberto Rossellini. Seen at the Belmont Theatre, New York.

"*Paisan*," which may be roughly translated "bud," is a series of incidents designed to show the relationships between men at war and the men and women native to the battleground. One of the most interesting incidents shows what happens when a group of U. S. Army chaplains, a Catholic, a Jew, and a Protestant visit a Catholic monastery in Italy.

The picture has no big "names," but Maria Michi, of "Open City," is in it. It lays bare the ethical poverty of a land decimated by war. Not a pleasant picture, it is as vital a social document as you are likely to run across in a lifetime.

## Behind the Headlines

Steadily and inexorably the policy of our government takes us along the course set by the fateful decision to send military aid to China, Greece and Turkey. "Easy is the descent into Hades," said the Roman proverb. Three developments mark the progress of our descent into the hell of the atomic-bacterial war. They are the use of ERP for profit by monopolistic financial interests; the move to aid and join the Western European military alliance; the "subversive activities control bill."

What the organized seekers for profit are doing with and to ERP has been lightly treated in the back pages of our big newspapers and not mentioned in many others. "In Fact" has documented the story. To help the hungry people of Europe withstand Communism the tobacco interests, after three months debate which was almost entirely ignored by the papers and magazines that carry cigarette ads to the tune of 50 millions a year, got almost a billion dollars worth of tobacco included in the four year ERP program. Over the protest of Herbert Hoover the coffee interests repeated this performance. The liquor interests got \$114,000 for light wines included in the first year list, and blocked attempts of Congressmen to curtail the making of alcoholic beverages in order that more of the grain used by distillers might go to feed the hungry. Both Europe and Asia prefer whole grain. It gives them more work, more nutrition and bran for livestock. Our milling interests tried to have it ordered that 50 per cent of the grain shipped to Europe should be in the form of milled white flour. The Senate cut this to 25 per cent. An amendment provided that grain and other products for Europe must be bought through commercial channels.

Then the Grocery Manufacturers of America and the processed foods lobby came along with the demand that more canned goods be sent in place of grain and other raw products. Their argument listed the millions of cases of canned goods clogging the shelves of the warehouses and the store rooms of the packers. "If these accumulated goods are not moved our canneries cannot work at full capacity . . . farmers will suffer." The reason these goods did not get to the people here who need them is high prices. When they go abroad at present prices the prices for the new crop stay up. The same is true for all the machinery and manufactured products shipped under ERP. Because in this Alice in Wonderland economics the seller is also the buyer, the taxpayers' money is being used to limit their consuming capacity and reduce their standard of living. Consequently the gentle mumblings of the President's economic advisers and his plaintive warnings are equally futile. Because of price rises the loan from the U. S. and Canada which was to have guaranteed British economic recovery over a period of five to ten years was used up in about a year and a half, leaving deficits greater than before. A report of the U.N. Economic Commission says that ERP, as long as it lasts, may ease Western Europe's immediate balance of payments problem but will provide no long-term solution. The last word to Congress of Marriner Eccles, just dropped from the Federal Reserve Board by Truman, was that the recent tax cut had removed the last gigantic inflationary force. The Reserve Board has now no power to control bank-credit expansion."

Add to the inflationary effect of the ERP under the pattern imposed by the same interests that used the war and their consequent control of post-war economy to make the highest profits on record the amount of energy taken out of production for human need by the militarization of this hemisphere and Europe and there can be no question that our national policy will hasten, widen and increase the cyclical collapse of the capitalist economy instead of delaying and lessening it. This inability to solve the economic problem means one of two things. The approach of the great day of economic disaster may throw the blind leaders of the blind who think that Communism can be stopped by the

show of force and the threat of war into the arms of the madmen who cry "drop the bomb now." Then the preventive war against the collapse of capitalism will be launched under the guise of preventing Soviet aggression, just as now the attempt at capitalist expansion is being made under the same plea.

If economic collapse comes before this maddest and most criminal venture in history is tried then the bitter fruit of the lies and hate now being scattered abroad will be gathered. The fastening of all the blame upon the Soviet Union, the attempt to make that nation the scapegoat for the greed and lust for power that now shape so much of our course, will increase until those who want war will have sufficient support for their plans. What will the religious assemblies and journals that have supported ERP in principle and been silent about its subversion by the money makers be able to say to those who die by the mass murder of the atom and the germ or have to endure the living death that comes from radio activity and disease spreading bacteria.

That our joining, or underwriting with supplies, the Western European military alliance is another step toward war is obvious on the face of it. The blank check offered by President Truman in the general promise of his March 17 address is now being filled in. The question is how much more of its constitutional responsibility for declaring war than the Congress has surrendered in recent years is it now willing to relinquish by a commitment in advance? The military is adding to its encroachment upon policy making by pressuring the State Department for an alliance. If we are to continue containing Communism we must get allies or pause to consider our course says General Spaatz of the Air Force. If by moral casuistry and verbal hocus pocus we now dress up a military alliance as a regional agreement under Article 51 of the U.N. Charter it means that having weakened the U.N. by starting a cold war on our own we now doom it to death by using it as an instrument in that war. For "containing Communism" is something different from protecting nations from the aggression of other states; and the positive side of the policy of "containing Communism" is the expansion of capitalism. The United Nations can neither succeed in, nor survive, the attempt to use force for that joint end.

Neither can the U. S. possibly succeed in that endeavor. How many commitments for military aid in Europe, in Asia and in this hemisphere can our economy carry without breaking its back and hastening, as well as widening, its collapse? And just what is the military value of such an alliance? How much war production can it secure from the Communist led unions in the basic industries? In Britain the factory and mine workers will not unitedly produce, nor the dockers load, munitions and supplies for a war against the Soviet Union and socialist and semi-socialist Eastern Europe. Western Europe cannot be lined up against Eastern Europe. Carried to its conclusion our policy means civil war in Italy and France. Not even Germany can be united for a war against Russia. The little nations who are fighting for their independence against our weapons will be against us, and with them will be millions of peasants in Asia and India whose day is yet to come.

In its economic foundation and its military strategy this cold war of ours is the maddest venture any nation ever embarked upon. Unless it is stopped its final outcome will be that the capitalist era will end in a combination of civil and international war which, with modern methods of mass murder, will leave most of Europe and Great Britain, with much of the United States, in lifeless ruins where no man may live for years to come.

The Subversive Activities Control Act moves to the same end. It makes possible the suppression of all opposition to war and all movements for the democratic social and

economic change which is the only alternative to war. These things are possible under the broad dictatorial powers given the Attorney General to determine whether an organization is Communist or a Communist Front. In legal language the bill substitutes "administrative process for judicial process in the area of free speech and assembly protected by the first amendment." First Congress would declare that world wide Communism is an international conspiracy to set up totalitarian dictatorships. Then the Attorney General would decide what organizations are aiding, being used by, or motivated by this movement. Thus any similarity of ideas, any support of any concrete objective, like opposition to the preventive war or race discrimination, can become ground for proceedings under the act. What opposition group from the CP to the MFSA cannot be caught in this net? Thus the irrational, anti-democratic, inhuman, un-Christian, procedure of all witch hunters is to become legalized.

True there is the gesture of the right to a hearing and an appeal to the courts, but the legal cards are stacked before this game begins. The prosecutor, a partisan political appointee, has to prove not an overt act, only a reasonable doubt. That is all the judge, another political appointee, has to find. And this concerning political objectives and behavior whose nature and consequences are matters of political judgment. That this procedure will be used to destroy opposition to the policies of the bi-partisan coalition which produced the Unamerican Activities Committee before it brought forth the cold war is clear enough from the record. There is no organization working for democracy and peace that has not been denounced as a Communist Front, without either definition or proof, by the Unamerican Committee. Its present chairman in a radio speech used by the Nazis proclaimed in a previous election that President Roosevelt was the center of the Communist Front movement in the U. S. Likewise without definition, proof or hearing, the Attorney General has put on his subversive list organizations which can show by incontrovertible evidence that they have sought nothing but the security of this nation and the well being of mankind through the strengthening of democracy and the avoidance of war. In open court a government prosecutor has proclaimed that any criticism of the administration foreign policy is subversive. What support can be gathered for this destruction of democracy is apparent when churches cancel speakers because of Clark's list; when Methodist laymen circulate material concerning their ministers and bishops from the files of the Unamerican Committee, gathered and made available without warrant of law, without checking its accuracy either with competent authorities or those concerned.

This Subversive Activities Bill is plainly unconstitutional. But it normally takes time to get to the Supreme Court and then, if that body continues the course indicated by its recent refusal to consider the constitutionality of the Unamerican Committee, it may leave us with another Dred Scott decision and its consequences. Meanwhile we can get a reign of terror or at the least the absorption of the energies and funds of all organizations working for democracy and peace in defense proceedings so that opposition to the coming of war and the Fascist state is effectively checked. That is part of the strategy of suppression. Said one of the authors of the bill when told that the Supreme Court would not uphold his bill: "Maybe so. But meantime we'll tie them up in the courts." In like manner the MFSA, at this crucial time, has been forced to limit its constructive activities by the need to defend its good name against an unscrupulous, slanderous newspaper attack.

The Bill of Rights was put into the Constitution specifically in order that the American people might peacefully change their economic arrangements and their political forms. If the Bill of Rights is to be nullified by the smear and fear suppression of the Unamerican Committee, the bi-partisan coalition that created it, and the propaganda of the financial interests that support our political machines, if it is to be destroyed by the Subversive Activities Control Act, then the whole process of social change is forced irrevocably into the arena of force and violence; then there is no prospect

before us except the Fascist state and a series of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary wars.

Facing this prospect what are our church organizations going to do and say? Are they going to repeat generalities about making democracy work without opposing with all the means at their command the destruction of democracy by the Subversive Activities Control Act and the continuance of the Unamerican Activities Committee? Are they going to continue their support of ERP, as Congregational Social Action has recently done "as a special application of our general pledge under the United Nations Charter to maintain international peace and security." Or are they going to see, and inform their people of, the points at which that objective is being subverted by financial and military goals? If not, then they will fall into the trap set by those who seek capitalist expansion under the guise of resisting Communist aggression and like the Congregationalists will "recognize our nation's responsibility to help protect from external aggression the nations participating in the European program." . . . Then too they will likewise have to "favor maintaining the amount of military strength required to make meaningful the above commitment." No meaningless qualification that, "We are opposed to a program of indiscriminate military expansion" will then save them from later finding out that they have sanctioned in advance the settlement of the complicated conflict between the passing capitalist and the rising socialist society by the arbitrament of force.

A special responsibility rests upon those religious groups which know and proclaim that the profit economy is both at odds with the gospel ethic and technically incompetent to meet the needs of mankind, which add that democratic planning for democratically chosen social goals is the method which enables both economic and moral and spiritual development. Those who know this are the leaven which can leaven the whole if they are willing to act upon it. They have the truth without which the people are going like sheep to the slaughter. Their task then is to cry aloud from day to day what the moving finger is once more writing across the page of history concerning the organization of life as a struggle for power: "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting." Their duty it is to point continually, in every situation which arises, to the direction in which alone security and progress can be found—the extension of the democratic process to the whole of life.

H. F. W.

## Resolution Adopted by the General Conference, 1948

(Continued from page 84)

### G. Economic Justice

We believe that all men have within them divine possibilities and must be accorded a fair and equal chance to become the best of which they are capable; that it is required of us to "seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." Every human ambition and practice must be brought into conformity with this demand.

The true end of economic activity is the satisfaction of human needs. Material necessities are a prerequisite of a good life for all men and are important in winning and maintaining peace.

In a Christian social order there will be no place for operations, other than gifts, where wealth changes hands without commensurate service having been rendered. Those who possess an abundance of this world's wealth have a stewardship responsibility which should be expressed in this hour of human need. In our interdependent world we realize there can be no lasting economic well-being or security in one part of the world while want and insecurity exist elsewhere. We reaffirm the principle stated by the Federal Council of Churches: "The peace must make provision for bringing within the scope of international agreement those economic and financial acts of national governments which have widespread international repercussions." We look with favor upon such currency and monetary arrangements as

seek to stimulate and stabilize international trade. We condemn cartels that restrict production for human needs in the interests of larger profits for those able to effect monopolistic practices. Economic imperialism has had its day and must give way to ideals of service and cooperation.

The issue of national sovereignty is important in the field of economic relations. As Christians, nationals of many nations, we call upon our people to accept whatever limitations on tariffs, trade relations, access to raw materials may be necessary to provide an equality of opportunity for all men to raise their standard of living, even though this may temporarily lower our own. We must be willing to sacrifice treasure to aid in establishing an economic order capable of meeting human needs and of relieving the suffering of the world.

## The Christian Church and Race

### COMMITTEE ON STATE OF THE CHURCH

Responsible churchmanship requires that the General Conference of the Methodist Church give immediate and careful attention to the growing urgency of the problem of racial discrimination. It is no longer a purely sectional problem, even in these United States. While some sections of this country face it in a much more serious form than others, it is now a nation-wide problem. Reports from every continent make it plain that racial discrimination is worldwide in scope and any proper approach and ultimately curative efforts will take "the world as its parish." This prospect may dismay others, but not a General Conference of the Methodist Church.

I. To this end and in a spirit of profound humility we call upon our church to inquire into the nature of the problem of racial discrimination, to rejoice in the steps that have already been taken toward its solution, and to press steadily forward in a spirit of Christian fellowship until this goal has been reached.

II. Racial discrimination is a fact which asserts itself both in principle and practice.

In principle, it is much more than simple recognition of the fact of racial differences. It proceeds on the assumption or the pseudo demonstration of the intrinsic superiority of some and in the intrinsic inferiority of others.

In practice, the principle manifests itself in the laws, customs, and institutions, and total life of a people. In its sharpest form, racial discrimination is slavery; in its mildest form it is condescension. The very principle upon which it proceeds precludes the relationship of evenhanded cooperation which is essential alike to a Christian community and a democratic society.

III. The principle of racial discrimination is in clear violation of the Christian belief in the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the kingdom of God—the proclamation of which in word and life, is our Gospel. We therefore have no choice but to denote it as un-Christian and to renounce it as evil. *This we do without equivocation.*

The practice of racial discrimination can be no better, morally and spiritually speaking, than the principle from which it stems. It too is evil, being the prolific mother of injustice, dissension, and division in any society which practices it. Yet toleration of this practice, in some form or other, is as old as the Christian Church itself and is coextensive with the history of the U.S.A. Consequently, thoughtful persons will know that it cannot be removed by a resolution. Neither will it be removed without real determination by significant parts of the Church and the nation. Hence, we, as Christians, must address ourselves with patience and perseverance to the infinitely complicated task of removing racial discrimination, root and branch, from our common life, both in the church and in the nation in which we live.

IV. We thank God for the progress already made by the Christian Churches in their struggle against racial discrimination. We cannot doubt that the Christian conscience and judgment are now sharply focussed on the evil. We call

attention to the massive evidence on this point included in the report of the Commission to Consider the Relations of All Races in the Methodist Church. The strong stands taken by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the International Council of Religious Education, the Home Missions Council in North America are more than feeble tokens of good-will, they are forthright statements of realistic policy and have as their common objective the ultimate elimination of racial discrimination from the Christian fellowship.

Although the problem is probably keenest and the way toward a solution more difficult within the Methodist Church, we have not been standing idly by while other Christian Churches have moved forward. A study of the pronouncements of the growing bodies and of our elected leaders over the last twenty-five years indicates a steadily increasing determination to find and embrace a properly Christian solution to the problem of racial discrimination. The action of the General Conference of 1948 in adopting the resolution calling into being the study Commission, to whose report we have referred, is unequivocal: "We look to the ultimate elimination of racial discrimination within the Methodist Church."

V. As we detail the steps to be taken at this point, we propose to be guided by the wise admonition of the Episcopal Address to the General Conference of 1948: "... We must be wise enough to recognize differences that do exist in the thought and practices of our people, and proceed, not upon the principle that demands conformity but upon that which achieves unity in diversity" (p. 23).

We therefore recommend:

1. That provision be made whereby all programs emanating from the Council of Bishops and the General agencies of the church shall be planned and promoted throughout the entire church with full participation of all racial groups.
2. That the attention of the entire church should be given to the recruiting, training and employment of more colored personnel by the Agencies of the Methodist Church on regular staffs and in institutions at home and abroad.
3. That complete equality of accommodations for all races be provided in national and international meetings of the Methodist Church and its agencies.
4. That the institutions of our church-colleges, universities, theological schools, hospitals and homes be asked to restudy any policy which proceeds on the basis of racial discrimination.
5. That we individually and, wherever, possible, collectively stand for equality of political franchise and of economic and educational opportunities for all races.
6. That this and succeeding General Conferences enact such permissive legislation as is and may be needed to facilitate cooperation between and among the churches and the conferences of the Church on problems now originating in the life of the church because of present organizational strictures.
7. That the General Conference authorize a continuing commission to study the practices and organization of the world-wide church to the end that racial discrimination shall ultimately be eliminated from our fellowship; which commission is to report to each General Conference.
8. That every Methodist, and every Methodist Church, Conference and institution accept the achievement of full fellowship in our churches a vital responsibility.

### Conclusion

We are not unmindful of the difficulties to which we summon the Methodist Church in this matter. For we are of all races and nations. Yet we are a frontier-church! We, therefore, summon the Methodist Church once more to take up her position on a frontier.

We recommend that this report be included in Par. 2016 immediately following the section on World Peace.

# Social Issues in Today's World

## The General Welfare

**RAY E. BOND, GARRETT ('27),** was granted the "Award in Human Relations" by the Chicago Mayor's Commission on Human Relations on Dec. 19, 1947, in recognition of his effective leadership in a community situation reflecting strong racial prejudice and discrimination in veteran's housing projects. Out of twelve awards, three went to clergymen: a priest, a rabbi, and a Protestant minister.

**CHILD LABOR LAWS** were strengthened during 1947, according to the Council of State Governments. Alabama raised the minimum employment age from 14 to 16, and shortened the work week for children employed after school from 48 to 40 hours. Massachusetts previously had allowed children under 12 to work in industry by obtaining a special permit but this possibility was abolished in 1947. Three states made efforts to regulate child labor on farms, in one way or another.

## Civil Liberties

**INVOLVED IN THE NUMEROUS CASES OF CONTEMPT** of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, either tried or on trial in the federal courts in the District of Columbia, is the underlying issue of the Committee's constitutional powers. The ACLU, which has not intervened in any of the cases on trial, will support an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court the contention that Congressional inquiries may not invade the field of opinion protected by the First Amendment.

The contempt cases involve a variety of issues raised by witnesses, from refusing to testify at all to refusing to produce organization records and to answering questions as to political or trade union affiliations. One witness, Leon Josephson, Communist lawyer, who refused to answer any question, is serving a one-year sentence after failing to get a review by the U. S. Supreme Court. Sixteen members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee are taking an appeal to the Supreme Court following the action of the District Court of Appeals in upholding their conviction for refusing to produce records of contributors.

The House Committee, with an unprecedented appropriation of \$200,000, twice last year's, is planning extensive inquiries. Only 37 members of the House voted against the appropriation. Hope for curbing its unfair methods lies mainly in the courts, according to the ACLU, though attempts are being made in Congress to adopt rules which will insure rights to witnesses and persons charged with "Un-Americanism."

**THE ACTION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT** in denying a passport to a reporter for the *Daily Worker* and to Rep. Leo Isaacson of New York was protested in March by the ACLU on the ground that U. S. citizens should be allowed to travel abroad without restrictions because of their political associations. The State Dept. reversed its stand on the passport for A. B. Magil, *Daily Worker* reporter, after the U. S. delegation to the international conference on freedom of information at Geneva had urged that the action embarrassed them in dealing with other delegations. Rep. Isaacson, who desired to attend a conference in Paris to aid "democracy," was not, however, permitted to get a passport, but another member of the American Labor Party, Eugene Connally, member of the N. Y. C. Council, was given one to attend the same conference. Although no explanation was given, it was understood that the State Dept. opposed giving the appearance of official sanction to such a conference by allowing a member of Congress to attend.

The State Dept. also refused visas for temporary visits to the United States of foreign journalists alleged to be Communists, among them a well-known Irish writer, and held up for one day in New York at Ellis Island, Mme. Joliot-Curie, French scientist and lecturer on behalf of Spanish Republicans refugees, apparently because her husband is a Communist.

## Labor Relations

**THE RIGHT OF LABOR UNIONS** to take part in political campaigns denied by provisions of the Taft-Hartley act, was sustained by the U. S. District Court in the District of Columbia on March 15th. The test was brought by Philip Murray, president of the CIO. The government is taking an appeal directly to the U. S. Supreme Court in order to get a decision clearing up the issue in the current political campaign.

The District Court's decision was based on the "plain terms" of the act denying constitutional rights of free speech and press. A similar test case is pending involving the United Automobile Workers. The ACLU will take part in the appeal to the Supreme Court by filing a brief supporting the contention that the provisions are unconstitutional.

## Churchmen's Conference Meets in Washington

Concerned about the serious drift towards war, more than 125 individuals from 12 Protestant denominations and 20 states met in Washington, D. C., on April 6 and 7, 1948, to consider programs of action to avert war and revitalize the will to peace.

"We are convinced that Christians have a responsibility to arouse and to guide the conscience of the community and that the Church has a positive message of courage and hope for the current hour. We face a serious world situation intensified by the present fears of the American people and complicated by the lack of accurate information, due partly to a veil of secrecy which exists even in this country. We believe that war need not be either imminent or inevitable. Among the steps we urge are the following:

### 1. Avert War

We call upon our national leaders to cease the effort to put the United States on a war-time basis. We recognize the menace of totalitarianism—Communism or Fascism—to a democratic way of life. We are convinced that the method of dealing with such ideas is not by resort to armed force but by the strengthening of social and political democracy, safeguarded by international law. It is our conviction that, as a nation, we have failed to take all possible steps to avert war, to strengthen democracy at home and abroad, and to build world peace.

### 2. Restore Civilian Leadership

To this end of averting war we want the policy-making powers of government immediately restored to civilian leadership in fact, so that the important American tradition of the supremacy of civilian control over the military will be maintained, and the United States will not needlessly be alerted to war measures. We do not question the patriotism of the military men of the nation, but their growing dominance in our national government is a serious threat to the basic spirit of democracy.

### 3. Defeat Selective Service and Universal Military Training

Armament races in the past have not prevented war and give no assurance that they will prevent wars in the future.

We call for the defeat of Selective Service and Universal Military Training legislation which will be viewed at home and abroad as a beginning of mobilization for war. For military manpower it is our conviction that the military authorities can devise means of recruiting volunteers without departing from democratic traditions of freedom.

#### 4. Peace through the Development of the United Nations

We believe the foreign policy of the United States should be based upon the determination to achieve peace through developing the United Nations rather than upon unilateral diplomacy based upon national military might. World peace demands that nations limit national sovereignty in a world system under law. We believe, therefore, that American policy should have as its objective the patient, persistent development of the United Nations in the direction of some form of World Government.

#### 5. Continue Negotiation

We urge the continuance of the policy of sincere and patient negotiation without threat of military force. We urge that negotiations with Russia be kept open on the initiative of our government, and that this be a continuing process. We would include in these negotiations both governmental and non-governmental groups and urge that we make a fresh start on the highest levels to resolve conflict.

#### 6. United States' Leadership for Worldwide Disarmament Under Law

We call for the bold leadership of the United States in promoting plans for world disarmament through strengthening the United Nations, including the worldwide abolition of peacetime compulsory military training. Nations must transfer sovereign control of armaments to the United Nations, including inspection, enforcement on individuals, and adequate funds for control.

#### 7. Control Atomic Energy

We urge fresh efforts to find a basis for the control of atomic energy under the United Nations. We are fully aware of the ultimate complications of failure to resolve this issue. We believe that this control can and must be established without injury to the internal economies of participating nations. The civilian control of atomic energy in our domestic economy should be continued and further strengthened.

#### 8. World Recovery Program

We urge the American people to throw their wholehearted support behind efforts to promote through truly constructive forces the political freedom and economic well-being of all the peoples throughout the world and to utilize international machinery as fully as possible.

We urge that the European Recovery Program and all other aid programs be administered without political coercion; that they be directed toward the development of healthy economic processes and democratic utilization of the land and natural resources. We believe that no aid program should be tied in with military purposes, but related so far as possible to the organized agencies of the United Nations, such as the Economic and Social Council where no veto exists. We recognize that the solution of the world's problems makes imperative increased sharing and sacrifice to an extent not yet contemplated by our citizens. The real enemies to be overcome are hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. A large section of the American people have thus far failed to align themselves with the suffering of others. The challenge of the emergency is for the Christian to make the essential sacrifices that all mankind may share in the human dignity that we cherish for ourselves. It would be far wiser to utilize a large proportion of the American budget for such needs rather than to dissipate it in military rearmament.

#### 9. Undergird Peace

We call upon the American government and the American

people to take vigorous leadership in practicing the principles of love, law, justice, and moral responsibility. We call upon all Christians to undergird the program for peace in confidence and faith, to speak with clarity and force to their representatives in Congress in order that our national action may be directed toward the peace of the world, and to pledge their personal support together with all necessary sacrifices involved. As Christians we recognize that our greatest asset lies in the spiritual quality of life."

Included among the Methodists present were: Dr. Howard Ackley, Poultney, Vt.; Dr. Leon M. Adkins, Schenectady, N. Y.; Dr. Hiel D. Bollinger, Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. Harold E. Buckey, Rocky River, Ohio; Dr. Harold F. Buckland, St. Johnsbury, Vt.; Dr. George A. Butters, Waltham, Mass.; Dr. Harold F. Carr, Cleveland, Ohio; Mr. John W. Chittum, Wooster, Ohio; Dr. Albert E. Day, Baltimore, Md.; Mr. Harold A. Ehrenspurger, Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. George Fallon, Worcester, Mass.; Mr. George Harper, Nashville, Tenn.; Rev. J. Kenneth Hoffmaster, Holland, Mich.; Dr. Nelson P. Horn, Baldwin, Kan.; Dr. Blaine E. Kirkpatrick, Monticello, Ind.; Mrs. B. E. (Lois) Kirkpatrick, Monticello, Ind.; Bishop W. Earl Ledden, Syracuse, N. Y.; Dr. John E. Marvin, Adrian, Mich.; Miss Eleanor Neff, New York City; Dr. Charles C. Noble, Syracuse, N. Y.; Rev. Estel L. Odle, Medaryville, Ind.; Rev. Dutton, Peterson, N. Y.; Mrs. Frederick (Marjorie) Poole, Detroit, Mich.; Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, New York City; Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg, Dearborn, Mich.; Dr. Garland Hopkins, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, New York City; Dr. Charles F. Boss, Jr., Chicago.

### In Your Papers?

The New Republic correspondent in Bogota says that behind the uprising, killing and destruction were the "oppressive tactics" of the Conservative President Perez. He ousted the Liberals from the Cabinet and made the notorious reactionary Gomez its head. Then began a reign of terror. For several weeks before the assassination of Dr. Gaitan, popular Liberal leader, 20 Liberals a day were reported shot down. The murder gave the occasion for attempting plans which had evidently been made in advance. "How large a part Communist agitation played in intensifying and directing the mob fury may never be fully known. . . . Many Liberal leaders here do not think it took Communists to fan the flames of unbridled anger into insurrection. They say the bloody oppression of the last few weeks would have been enough."

Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, missionary authority on Latin America, assigned by the Colombia government as adviser at the Bogota conference points out that "the United States lined up with reactionaries and the Colombian government officials who had persecuted the Liberals . . . you cannot deal with conservative reactionary governments as though they were democracies and then pass a resolution condemning Communism and expect to get away with it." The *N. Y. Times* correspondent reports that the 12 Communist leaders held in connection with the rioting were released unconditionally on the ground that the court had no proof they had anything to do with the disturbances. The leader demanded that the government name the alleged "Russian spies" and publish all documents taken from the Labor Federation headquarters. He implied that then the allegation of a Communist plot would be proved baseless. The Soviet Union has denied as "absurd fabrications" the charge that their agents took part in the uprising.

The Medical Society of New Jersey, at its annual meeting, called for the outlawing by international agreement of the use in war of biological and bacterial techniques as inhuman and urged a similar stand upon the American Medical Society. Religious organizations please copy.

## The Federation Mailbag

ALVA TAYLOR'S LOSS

May 12, 1948  
Evanston, Ill.

Sirs:

Alva W. Taylor's loss of his home and its contents by fire will be distressing news to his many friends. Dr. Taylor is now 76 years old and has for the past twelve years had only partial employment. Because like Socrates he was a truly great teacher and citizen, he was denied the privilege of continuing to teach.

His home was more than a place to house his family. It was a means of earning a living. He and his family lived there and rented three small apartments. The loss of his home is therefore the loss of his principal capital asset. In the evening of his life when earning power is gone but heavy obligations remain, he should not bear this loss alone.

A limited amount of insurance reduces his loss, but the net loss over and above insurance is approximately \$5,000. Two hundred friends, each contributing \$25, can absorb that loss and thereby express their sense of indebtedness to one of the great pioneers of the social gospel, who has lived so courageously and unselfishly as to sacrifice his own personal and financial security. We who sign this letter invite all who read it to join us in sending checks directly to Alva W. Taylor, whose temporary address is 917 Eighteenth Ave. N., Nashville, Tenn.

Albert E. Barnett,  
Prof. of New Testament, Garrett  
Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

Julius Mark, Rabbi  
Vine St. Temple, Nashville, Tenn.

MR. McCLEAVE WENT TO WASHINGTON

Penns Grove, N. J.

Dear Jack:

Thought you would like to know that I journeyed to Washington two weeks ago and talked personally with Congressman Wolverton, Senator Hawkes, Senator Taft, Senator Smith's son and Senator Vandenburg's secretary. The purpose of this trip was to try to get the true picture of events after Pres. Truman's war speech. I believe after talking to them that it is going to take a lot of propaganda to make Congress pass the UMT and Draft bills.

I also heard Henry Wallace's brilliant defense of his speech against UMT before the Senate Committee.

Enclosed you will find my check for \$5—I wish I could send more.

Sincerely,  
Stanley McCleave

QUESTION OF POSTURE

Fishkill, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Having been without your bulletins for several years I don't have it clear in my mind who's who in the MFSA. I started to write to Mr. Mc then saw that, after all, however much I was pleased with Mr. Mc's Executive Sec's report, Mr. Smith is the editor of the BULLETIN. I never could imagine how the Federation could continue to exist when such grand men as Dr. Ward might not be available. It is thrilling to see your organization still a going concern, and I trust going stronger than ever.

I am not a religious person and started to go back to church only lately more or less by accident. I'm afraid I can't stand it much longer. If anyone were to ask me what I would consider the most important criticism of church-goers I would say that they are too damned religious. It is disappointing to find them just as contented with the status quo after World War II as they ever were. As chairman of a program committee for a church Discussion Group I attempted to convince other members of the need for study of social problems but was over-ruled. Now the D.G. has degenerated into nothing more than a Sunday School class. The hour is being spent trying to decide whether Jehovah is one God with three heads or three Gods with one head. Why be concerned with such problems as the coming of World War Act III and concomitant American fascism? Why act on any issue? The proper posture for a Christian is on his belly crawling before the mighty, getting up only to slap some lieutenant of

the master class on the back. Yes, this is the way to really get into God's groove and to advance individualistic interests. How can people be satisfied merely with worship, merely with prayer, just with standing up to sing a hymn and sitting down to hear a sermon. I am disgusted with this religious posturing. If Christ meant anything to religious people they would be so busy fighting against the coming of war and fascism that they would not have a moment to dawdle with thoughts of redemption and immortality and losing themselves in such a worthy cause they would attain both, if attainable. But no, they have carved their little niches in the walls of the Great Monte Carlo of contemporary society so why concern themselves with the collapse of civil liberties in America? Ours is a land of vast spaces and no doubt the masters will construct the concentration camps far enough back from the roads so that the Christians on their joy rides need not see the smoke from the crematoriums, nor smell, nor hear the groans of Jews, Negroes, or trade unionmen.

But too much of such thoughts. I wrote to tell you that I appreciate your fine work very much. The BULLETIN comes like a breath of fresh air from a pine forest after a shift of the prevailing winds from across the city dump. I hope that I will be able to send you a little help in the form of subscriptions and money.

Will you please send me your library list and at least two copies of your action letters whenever available?

Very truly yours,  
Justana Merican

P.S.—If you folks aren't surrounded by Judas Iscariots, Tom Clark has been derelict in his duties.

## Books and Pamphlets

Sugrue, Thomas: *Stranger in the Earth*. Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1948. \$4.00.

Catholic autobiographies, especially those with theological subtitles ("The Story of a Search") have a way of deteriorating into dogmatic orthodoxy as the narrative progresses until at the end the pilgrim is safely home in the arms of Holy Mother Church, whence everybody else on earth ought to hasten without further delay.

But not this one. An Irish boy from Naugatuck, Conn., has written a luminously honest book which, while it will cause many a pursed lip in the rectories, is Catholic in the very best sense of the word without being dogmatic. It is not an easy trick, but Sugrue has brought it off. A mystic who looked everywhere for God, he found Him in the Catholic Church of his fathers but was always aware that He was also to be found elsewhere—in Judaism, in Protestantism, in Islam, in the unexplored realms of extra-sensory perception, and even in honest doubt.

Sugrue started out in life the son of an Irish rubber factory worker on Kelly Hill in Connecticut's grim, industrial Naugatuck Valley. The Catholicism of his youth depressed him, and as he grew older the general ineptitude of the whole Christian Church weighed heavily on his mind. His personal search for a satisfactory faith led him into the field of psychic phenomena, and for awhile he worked with the well-known clairvoyant, Edgar Cayce, in the hospital which some New York friends had built for the latter at Virginia Beach.

Eschewing Holy Cross, Boston College, Fordham and the other colleges generally favored by New England Irish boys, Sugrue matriculated at Washington and Lee at Lexington, Virginia. There in the relaxed, friendly atmosphere of the northerly South his inhibitions both Irish and New England were thawed out, his talent for writing was nurtured and began to bear fruit, and his philosophy of life was outlined and polished by the constant abrasion of a predominantly Protestant environment. It was at Washington and Lee, too, that he met Hugh Cayce, and through him his father, Edgar Cayce. The elder Cayce made a great impression on young Sugrue and one of his best books is a biography of the clairvoyant entitled "There is a River."

After college Tom Sugrue's "search" took him briefly back to Naugatuck and then to the *New York Herald-Tribune*. After that came free-lance writing for the magazines, a little ghost-work, and finally prominence as a poet, novelist, biographer, and literary critic. He succumbed to a crippling ailment in 1938, and the continuing struggle against that affliction provides the frame-work on which "Stranger in the Earth" is built.

"Stranger in the Earth" will remind many readers of another contemporary spiritual autobiography, albeit one which is cast in the form of a novel—the late Ross Lockridge, Jr.'s "Raintree County." Both Sugrue and Lockridge have created a caustic alter ego, a devil's advocate, to speak for one side of their natures, and both have called him "the professor." He is the cynic, the worldling, who offsets the soaring idealism and the unrepentant mysticism of the biographer. For Lockridge, however, the professor proved too strong. Sugrue is able to contain his pedagogue.

On the whole, "Stranger in the Earth" is the kind of good, imaginative, and moving writing that one would expect from an ex-Herald-Tribune man. But here and there, the mystical flights are a bit too long and the reader finds himself leaping ahead for a sight of solid ground. At times there is a little too much of the Arch-typical Man, metaphysical symbology, and heresiology. But this is a minor and perhaps even a carping criticism. The book not only moves, it sings.

Not the least of the book's attractions is an imaginatively conceived and splendidly executed wood-cut by Lynd Ward. Ward has gotten the sense of the book into his picture in an unusual way.

A. J. S.

Loos, William: *Two Giants and One World*. The Friendship Press, New York, 1948. 96 pp.

In the mass of mail that comes from my radio audience, a large number of letters deal with our relationship to Russia. My correspondents are deeply troubled. They ask: "Can we get along with Russia?" or "Must we go to war with Russia?" And : "Can you refer me to an objective, able treatment of Soviet-American relations?"

The amount of such mail increased after my visit to Russia in the summer of 1946, on behalf of Russian War Relief. Persistently I have sought a book I might in all conscience recommend.

I have now found a small book that answers these queries. I refer to *Two Giants and One World*, a 96-page booklet written by Dr. A. William Loos, Education Secretary of the Church Peace Union, and published for that organization by The Friendship Press.

Dr. Loos has commented in his foreword: "The destiny of humanity is held today in the hands of two giants, the Soviet Union and the United States." He asks a number of searching questions: "Will these nations struggle for economic and international supremacy or will they work together for the establishment of the 'more abundant life' for all peoples? Will there be war or peace? Competitive peoples at each other's throats or a united world? A divided world living in fear and under the shadow of oppression, hunger and ignorance, or one world living in security and under the four freedoms?"

These questions are posers, but he answers them skillfully and intelligently. I commend the book to all Americans who, like myself, have been distressed by the trend of recent events and who believe that the two giants can live peacefully and amicably in one world.

As President of The Church Peace Union I am proud of the fact that this organization, through The Friendship Press, has published such a booklet. Its publication reveals not only courage but a will to peace on the part of both The Church Peace Union and The Friendship Press.

Dr. Loos is a recent addition to the staff of The Church Peace Union having come a year and a half ago as Education Secretary after a distinguished career as college professor and church executive. He brings to his work a wide experience, a sensitive and deeply religious spirit, and a highly cultured mind. He focuses these talents upon this book, which is mainly of his composition but is also a product of group thinking, especially in collaboration with other members of the staff of The Church Peace Union, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, and Mr. John R. Inman.

We of The Church Peace Union have always felt that our particular job is to speak a clear, direct word in a confused world. This I think we have done in *Two Giants and One World* in such words as these: "Soviet-American relations are of crucial importance today not only for diplomats and United Nations delegations, but for every individual person everywhere. If those relations deteriorate further, the consequences can and eventually will reach relentlessly into countless homes in this country and throughout the world. The improvement of these relations will, on the other hand, form a valid basis for faith and confidence in a hopeful, peaceful future."

Ralph Sockman

#### ANNOUNCING

A new booklet by Prof. Clyde R. Miller, of Columbia University: "Propaganda—How and Why It Works."

Published by the Commission for Propaganda Analysis of the M.F.S.A.

Price—25¢. Order singly or in quantity from 150 5th Ave., New York City 11.

More than 250 copies were sold after a recent meeting at Town Hall, New York. Woltman explained and exposed!

**ORDER NOW!**

Frantisek Klaus, recently arrived Czechoslovak Social Democrat labor lawyer, and representative on the Social Commission of the UN Economic and Social Council, says the recent crisis in that country was in part an attempt of anti-labor political leaders to test the unity of the labor movement. Three representatives of right wing parties resigned from the government while the unions were in the midst of analyzing the economic situation. Their works councils, empowered to examine company records, found enormous profits and concluded that extension of nationalization to medium sized enterprises was necessary. A national delegate council was called and the government crisis was precipitated, apparently with the object of preventing further nationalization. The national works council meeting upheld its leaders and called a token one-hour general strike in support, which demonstrated complete unity. The government adopted the program and the resigned leaders gained no support. Kraus ridiculed the charge that the Russians had a hand in the situation. This has been officially denied by both the Czech and the Soviet governments.

The British government has acknowledged that the M document concerning alleged Soviet plans for sabotage plans in Western Germany, widely publicized in our press is a forgery. The author is known and will be tried. One correspondent adds that the sale of fictitious incriminating documents, to both sides, is a lucrative business in Europe.

A Czech Communist newspaper calls on the workers to liquidate the numerous bars and replace them with modern clubrooms "filled not with the fumes of alcohol but with the spirit of true social life, built on the basis of refined amusements at a high level."

Scott Nearing says that beneath "the war habit" lies "A price-profit economy which depends upon scarcity for the sale of its commodities. In the present stage of technological abundance, war alone is sufficiently destructive to preserve a dependable scarcity that will guarantee full production and ample profits."

Marriage is an institution which teaches a man thrift, regularity, and other virtues he wouldn't especially need if he stayed single.

"He's not allowed to see people until opening night. We don't want to frighten him."—Barnum and Bailey press agent, explaining why Gargantua's cage was covered.

# The Miscalculation of Modern Man

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Modern man has conquered nature more successfully than any previous generation. But he has had no marked success in getting along with his fellowmen.

We live in a world of broken communities. We have not merely failed to organize a world community. That failure might be excusable, since the task has never been attempted before. But we are also failing to preserve the smallest, most intimate and oldest of all human communities: the family.

When modern man tries to explain these failures he usually asserts that they are due to our tardiness in applying the technics by which we conquered nature to the affairs of mankind. I should be more inclined to believe that our failure in getting along with our fellowmen is partly due to the fact that we use precisely the same technics by which we conquered nature in our human relations.

We think of our fellowman as a kind of guinea pig who can be manipulated and experimented with. We apply psychological technics to persuade him into causes which we regard as good for him. We tend to treat him as we treat the things and forces of nature.

Meanwhile our fellowman is a person. He is not an object but a subject. He has his own discrete identity and dignity which we have no right to violate. Each person is unique and can therefore not be understood through the scientific generalizations by which we know nature. Something of poetic insight is required to understand the complexity of his motives. And the clairvoyance of love is required to understand the mystery of his internal life. Relations between persons are not made easier by "scientific technics."

There are, of course, necessary political and social technics, required for the regulation of the common life of mankind. We need more, rather than less, scientific intelligence in trying to adopt our social institutions to the needs of a technical age. But in the ultimate instance personal relations are not governed by the mind.

Persons confront each other in the totality of their minds, hearts, and wills. The wisdom by which they understand one another is the wisdom of love and not of science. The love by which they overcome the frictions between one another must be informed by the spirit of forgiveness, rather than by the spirit of scientific objectivity.

Perhaps we are failing in our human relations because our conquest of nature has made us too proud and too filled with the sense of power. The spirit of love which oils the frictions of life must be prompted by humility.

(Copyright 1948 by Religious News Service)

New Orleans is about as far South as you can go, both geographically and psychologically, and still be an American citizen. Yet it was in that city that Federal Judge Wayne G. Borah last November ended a three-year-old case by ruling that Negro school teachers must be paid the same as white teachers of equal qualifications. Wiley Butler McMillon, Negro principal, had sought an injunction against the Iberville Parish school board to halt discrimination in salaries. He got it.

A young man, having imbibed too freely, draped himself around a lamp post when a priest walked up to him. Said the priest, "Young man, what do you mean by being in such a condition? What on earth have you been drinking?"

To which the youth replied, "Three Fathers, feather."  
—Western Bldg.

The Portuguese mayor of Estremadura it was who, in offering a reward for the recovery of the body of a drowned man, listed as a means of identification, that "the deceased had a marked impediment in his speech."

—Webb B. Garrison, in *Liberty*

Bore—One who insists upon talking about himself when you want to talk about yourself.

Egotist—A person who tells you those things about himself which you intended to tell him about yourself.

—Comic Dictionary

J. B. Priestly, English novelist and playwright, writing about us under the title, "You Worry the World," says that Europe feels that her fate is in the hands of an irresponsible giant. "Sometimes we feel as if our destiny hangs on decisions that come from a three-ring circus. Congressmen who have never given a morning's serious thought to world problems hurry to register votes that may ruin half a continent. Columnists in search of a scoop casually blast the plans of half a dozen countries. . . . In the days when America was really great its spacious atmosphere was not polluted by people who ran about denouncing "un-American activities, and did not employ detectives to discover who was reading Karl Marx."

The Foreign Policy Association *Bulletin* reports what happened in one area when the peasants took seriously the Kuomintang's promise of land reform. Teng Mei-Kuei rallied the local farmers to demand enforcement of the 25 per cent rent reduction law promulgated by the government in 1945. "Armed men entered his house on Feb. 5 and shot him down. The members of the local Farmers' Association took to the hills. The remaining tenant farmers returned to the landlords the grain they had deducted from their rents. In the areas taken by the Reds a relief campaign is under way to restore the devastation from the war. The leader Mao Tse-tung sets an example by eating only two meals a day—of millet and beans. Offered an egg he replied, "I couldn't eat it in the presence of people who have suffered so much. It wouldn't go down."

The *N. Y. Times* correspondent in Nanking says that the election of General Li as Vice-President "is a considerable rebuff for President Chiang to swallow. It can be taken as a protest against the whole bureaucratic system built up over the last twenty years under President Chiang's leadership-system that has perpetuated vested interests linked to official position and has failed to accomplish many fundamental social and economic reforms." He also quotes an article by a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party instructing officials to secure reasonable adjustments of wages and profit through mutual agreements between employers and workers, and opposing excessive raising of wages as destructive of production and "left adventurism." A Peiping dispatch quotes Frank Miles of the American Friends Service as reporting that in Shensi and Shansi small traders and business men are getting money from the Communist regime at 3-4 per cent per month whereas in Nationalist areas it costs them 20 per cent. He asserts, "It would be hard to imagine a more moral people than the Communists. Drinking is frowned upon; opium smoking is not allowed. Prostitutes are reformed and reeducated, and no philandering is allowed in the marriage relationship."